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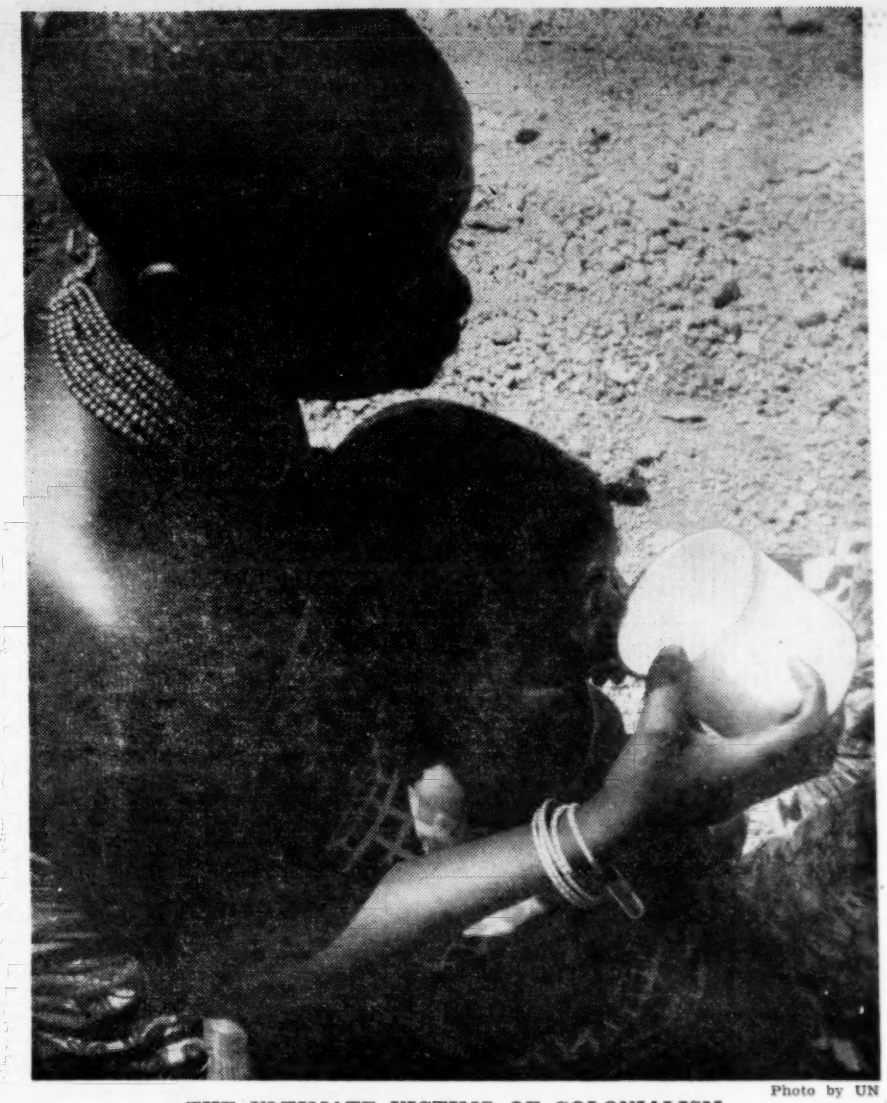

Photo by UN

THE ULTIMATE VICTIMS OF COLONIALISM
Belgium took the Congo's wealth; the UN supplied the milk

ULTIMATUM GIVEN TO BELGIANS

Congo turns to UN in fight to preserve its independence

By Kumar Goshal

IN LESS THAN three weeks after the Belgian Congo became the independent Republic of Congo, its new government was fighting desperately to maintain the country's political freedom, territorial integrity, economic rights and human values.

Belgian troops—some airlifted from Belgium—were occupying several key areas of the country. Katanga Province, where most of the Congo's mineral wealth is concentrated, had seceded from the Republic, declared its "independence" and allied itself with Belgium, and placed itself under the protection of Belgian troops.

Katanga's pro-Belgium Premier Moise Tshombe was reportedly trying to persuade the neighboring provinces of coffee-growing Kivu and diamond-rich Kasai to secede and join Katanga. The New York **Times** said (July 17): "Belgian conservatives and financial interests, confident that they could retain ties to an independent Katanga, were jubilant."

WHITE OFFICERS REMOVED: Tribal conflict had broken out in some parts of the country. Panicky whites, mostly Belgian, were in flight from the Congo, carrying tales of anti-white violence, pillage and rape. By July 17, UN troops from Ghana and Tunisia had arrived to help maintain order.

Trouble started shortly after the Congo became free on June 30. Congolese soldiers and police rose up against their white officers. They demanded "Africanization" of the forces, promotion in rank and higher wages. Dockworkers went on strike for wage increases and better working conditions. They calmed down when President Joseph Kasavubu and Premier Patrice Lumumba removed white officers including Belgian Gen. Emil Janssens and appointed Kasavubu as Commander of the Army.

Violence flared again when whites began to flee and the Belgian troops left behind after independence moved against the Congolese forces. It was aggravated by the action of Katanga's Premier Tshombe, who announced that Belgium and the neighboring white-supremacist Rhodesias had promised him military aid.

TRIBAL STRIFE: Meanwhile tribal conflicts had broken out as some tribes, who had felt they had been discriminated against by the Belgian government in the past, retaliated against tribes they felt Belgium had favored.

When Belgian troops continued to fly into the Congo, the Lumumba government broke off diplomatic relations with Belgium and appealed to UN Undersec-

(Continued on Page 5)

DEMOCRATS NAME TWO MILLIONAIRES

Kennedy picks Johnson in bid for the South

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

LOS ANGELES

TWO MILLIONAIRE Senators took over the leadership of the Democratic Party in a tightly stage-managed convention here in the Sports Arena. Impressive grass-roots liberal forces grouped around Adlai Stevenson gave the convention its only marks of enthusiasm and emotion, but were completely routed when the decisions were made.

Presidential nominee Kennedy's designation of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas as his Vice Presidential candidate probably strengthened Democratic chances of victory by sewing up the Solid South while it dismayed the liberals opposed to appeasing the Dixiecrats.

Sen. Kennedy had the nomination in the bag before the convention started Monday afternoon, July 11. Before the first session opened, the chief of the Washington Bureau of one of the country's biggest dailies commented: "It's a pre-packaged deal. Kennedy's nomination was pre-ordained ten years ago."

NO ENTHUSIASM: The feeling that the race was over before it started, widespread acceptance of former President Truman's charge that the convention was rigged, and the domination of the overpowering, coldly efficient Kennedy machine resulted in a general lack of enthusiasm among the delegates.

"Stop Kennedy" hopefuls had a flurry of self-deception when the California and Minnesota delegations balked, and there were some flareups of resentment against the ruthlessly tough pressures used by Sen. Kennedy's campaign manager, his brother Robert.

The hard core of Kennedy's victory was the support of Catholic political bosses in the five largest states, Carmine G. De Sapio in New York, Gov. David Lawrence in Pennsylvania, Gov. Edmund Brown in California, Chicago Mayor James Daly, and Gov. Michael DiSalle in Ohio. With the exception of Gov. Brown, whose leadership in California is threatened by a liberal revolt in the party there, the machine bosses froze out opposition. In the New York delegation, for example, former Governor and Senator Herbert Lehman and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt were able to line up only 3½ votes for Stevenson, while the party bosses turned out 104½ votes for Kennedy. From Illinois, where he lives and was Governor, Stevenson received 2 votes while the machine gave Kennedy 61½.

California split its votes, 33½ for Kennedy, 31½ for Stevenson, 8 for Symington, and 7½ for Johnson. Behind this was a battle royal by the liberal and pro-Stevenson forces to prevent Gov. Brown from delivering the entire delegation to Kennedy.

LABOR'S ROLE: A split also occurred in the Minnesota delegation which refused to let Gov. Orville Freeman and Sen. Hubert Humphrey turn their votes over

(Continued on Page 4)

In this issue

SALUDOS, AMIGOS!
Report to Readers . . . . . p. 2
DENVER T-H CASE
Delay sought . . . . . p. 3
HIROSHIMA DAY
Japan's biggest . . . . . p. 5
THE MECHANICAL MEN
See the Spectator . . . . . p. 8

THE PLANKS AND THE REALITY

Civil rights front: Aid refused in 'man-made disaster'

By Ramona Lowe

EVERY FOUR YEARS Negro delegates hopefully go to political party conventions and press for a strong civil rights plank and a few paragraphs are written into the platform to attract Negro voters. But the state of the nation today shows how little any of the planks have meant. Headlines tell a sorry story: "Tennessee Negroes appeal to Ike in emergency"; "Move to halt New Orleans integration"; "Town closes library to keep Negroes out"; "25 arrested over sit-in in cafe."

Fayette County, Tenn., is perhaps the most dramatic current example. It demonstrates what can happen in the South when a Negro attempts to exercise his right to register and vote. The need for food, clothing and other necessities has become so grave there because of the refusal of the white merchants to sell anything to the Negroes in the area that Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, wired the Red Cross for relief. He described the situation as a "man-made disaster."

The Red Cross declined to help after Mayor I. P. Yancey of Somerville, the county seat, described the appeal as ridiculous. Roy Coleson, Somerville newspaper editor, said there was nothing to the charges, and George Green, chairman of Fayette County's Red Cross chapter, indicated there was no need.

BOYCOTT ASKED: Attorney J. F. Estes, Negro counsel for the Fayette and Haywood Counties Civic League, Inc., appealed to President Eisenhower to declare a state of emergency in the area so that the people could receive "food, clothing, medical attention, drug supplies, gasoline and other material needs."

The most effective means of ending the plight of the Fayette Co. Negroes may be Wilkins' call to the 350,000 members of the NAACP to boycott Texaco, Gulf, Amoco, Esso-Standard, Delta, Lion and Southern Oil gas stations. Wilkins hopes in this way to arouse owners of the companies who have claimed they are powerless to force distributors to supply the Tennessee community. Without gasoline the Negroes cannot operate their farm machinery, as the distributors know, and must face eventual starvation.

NAACP branches and the National Committee for Rural Schools, whose office in New York is at 112 E. 19th St.,

(Continued on Page 3)

THE MAIL BAG

Cuba's revolution

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Let social justice raise its head and the imperialists screech "Communism" and, if they dare, destroy it (Guatemala, Korea) even as they are now trying to destroy the substance of the Cuban revolution. Revolution is tolerated if it leaves things the same, but not when the victims proceed to become masters in their own house. Castro is bad for our elite because he is good for his own people. **Veni Vidi**

●

EL CAJON, CALIF.

This sounding off about U.S.S.R. submarine bases in Cuba, including—in our papers—sketches showing how and where missiles from such would strike the U.S.:

Is this figment of the imagination of our wild men in the Pentagon a means for preparing our citizens, and if so, for what?

For a Batista take-over and a return of Cuba to our "free world"?

I, for one, remember what happened in Guatemala.

Robert Karger

●

MANISTEE, MICH.

At the drop of a hat columnist David Lawrence would have us at war with the U.S.S.R., China, Cuba, and now doubtless Mexico, all for the protection and glory of Free Enterprise in its "right" to own most of the real wealth of any country anywhere regardless of wishes of the people living there.

There is not as yet, nor is there likely to be, any indication that Cuba will ever be the military threat to us that Turkey already is to the Soviet Union. The Golden Rule, to sanctimonious dolts like Lawrence, is in reality the Rule of Gold. **John W. Harvey**

Post-Summit posies

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I have just returned from a trip to the Soviet Union. There is one event that I would like to tell you about. I was at a park in the city of Kharkov, watching a group of children at play. The children started to talk to me in English, and wanted me to give them my name and address.

I asked one of the group for her name and she told me that it was Diane Gendleman. I wrote a little note of greeting to her and she then asked me to give her a sheet out of my notebook. She wrote the following message. "We stand for Peace and Friendship." The note was signed by little Diane and also the following children: Ljuda Agronakova, Sveta Krupalkina, Lila Lubchenko, Lyuda Prokhodat, O. Petrova, Yala Tumarakowa, Natasha Segetva and Swetlana Belokur. This took place on May 19, 1960.

Morris Goodman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

CHICAGO, June 21 (UPI)—A judge granted probation today to two policemen who admitted looting an appliance store. He said that he did not think policemen made enough money to raise families.

Criminal Court Judge Leslie E. Salter, giving the policemen three years' probation over the protests of prosecutors, also said the policemen were "engaged in private enterprise" because they were off duty when the theft occurred.

—New York **Times**, June 21

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A.K., New York City

Write for peace

LONDON, ENGLAND

The Labor Peace Fellowship has arranged a scheme of correspondence between members of the Labor Party, trade unions and co-operatives in this country with comrades in the labor movement overseas.

The Fellowship, which is an organization of members of the Labor Party and its affiliated organizations opposed to war and militarism and working for international socialism, believes that this correspondence will be the means of discussing the position of socialists overseas towards the present world situation, and what policies they can advocate which are consistent with their convictions.

The purpose of the correspondence is therefore to act as a means of sending greetings and keeping in touch with our comrades overseas, and at the same time taking the opportunity of discovering their views on the present international situation.

If any members of organizations would like to join in this scheme would they send me some details regarding themselves, including name and address, and I will send full details.

Joyce Butler, M.P.
House of Commons
London S.W.1

Bewixened

NEW YORK, N.Y.

And then there's the bewizened irritable voice of the answering service with its crackle of bemused sophistry and it's a doctor you want and just a moment—nothing. . . . Wait . . . and **wait.**

And if it were a matter of the heart the heart'd be a-bumbled and the switchboard a-switchboard'd stay ne'er to show the stethoscope it might have been. So. A Law, then. A Law stating that no answering service of few words and errant orbit can legally assume doctors as clients and as well that there be a limit on the number of doctors and others who play bingo with life and death. **Don Solorow**

Ike's first liberty

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

There is one civil liberty to which President Eisenhower's devotion never flags—the liberty of citizens in community or personal economic difficulties to be free to suffer with a minimum of Federal interference.

In his veto of the Depressed Areas Bill the President declared that the $251,000,000 rescue operation would "squander taxpayers' money where there is only temporary economic difficulty."

Temporary? When science-in-industry is producing profound changes, notably automation, which as they develop will tax American ingenuity so that temporary unemployment may not become permanent?

The problem of meeting the human needs of citizens in different guises will always be with us. We are human beings before we are Democrats or Republicans or political mavericks and in this spirit every problem in this genre should be tackled under public pressure by every legislator, regardless of party.

Muriel I. Symington

Lancaster, London Daily Express

"This all goes to prove what I have always said—that you, my dear countess, will never become obsolete."

Why not try stress?

CHICAGO, ILL.

Your quotation of the views on stress of the Soviet Pavlovist Dr. Napalkov in a recent Gallery column makes it appropriate to call attention to a book by the scientist who far more than any other has revealed the effects, mechanisms, and uses of stress.

The book is by Hans Selye, **The Stress of Life**, McGraw-Hill, 1956. It is a popular exposition of the principles and history of the discoveries for which he is internationally famed.

Selye is of Viennese birth, long a naturalized Canadian citizen and director of the Institute of Experimental Medicine and Surgery at the University of Montreal. He is the author of more than a dozen volumes and around 700 papers of investigations of stress.

In the popular book mentioned, he refers with respect to both Pavlov and Freud, among numerous other scientists. It is full of pronounced humanism and modesty, as well as of epoch-making research. Its practical counsels are avoidance of the mechanical in a philosophy of equilibrium between stress and rest—and fighting to win, for what one believes desirable.

B.F.

They also serve . . .

NEW YORK, N.Y.

While praising Stephen Bayne for declining an American Legion award because he did not respect the policies of that organization, how about a few words of commendation for his classmates, Donald Kursch and Cheryl Humphrey, who refused to accept awards denied Bayne for his action. They can be reached at 324 Post Ave., Westbury, N.Y.

F. A. Blossom

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE DETROIT CITY COUNCIL banned the sale and distribution of newspapers and literature opposing U.S. intervention in Korea; peace petitioners were arrested in New York City, Houston, Texas, Wilmington, Calif., Birmingham, Ala., Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, Camden, N.J. In Atlanta, Ga., a woman peace petitioner was fined $100.

But the work went on and the names kept coming in. The executive board of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union officially endorsed peace petitions calling for a world ban on atom weapons. The Maryland Committee for Peace delivered to the UN 50,000 signatures on its own peace ballots. The Natl. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, through its secretary, Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, called on the President to pledge that the atom bomb would not be used. The Cleveland Labor Council for Negro Rights proclaimed:

"We are vigorously opposed and call for an end to American armed intervention in the Korean civil war. We extend to our colored brothers in Asia the fraternal handclasp of a friendship forged by common experiences in a struggle for human dignity and freedom from oppression."

—From the National Guardian, July 26, 1950.

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REPORT TO READERS

Saludos, amigos!

DR. RAUL ROA, Foreign Minister of Cuba, on July 18 presented to the UN Security Council a list of threats, harassments, intrigues, reprisals and aggressive acts by the U.S. which Cuba protests as constituting a manifest danger to international peace and security.

Dr. Roa's charges, which were being considered by the Security Council as the GUARDIAN went to press (and which seemed headed for the Organization of American States where the U.S. has instigated counter charges) included harboring notorious Cuban war criminals, providing facilities to counter-revolutionists, violations of Cuba's air space by planes from the U.S. fire-bombing cane fields, "unconcealed" diplomatic pressure, derogatory statements by leading figures of government including our President, the refusal of U.S. oil companies to refine Cuban crude oil from the Soviet Union, the cut-back of Cuba's sugar quota, and the discussion in the National Security Council of Cuba's future "as if that country were a factory or a subject state."

The U.S. scheme to have Cuba's charges shunted to the OAS, where the U.S. has arm-twisted Peru into raising an alarm over Cuba's dealing with the Soviet Union, is to the letter what happened in 1954 when Guatemala protested to the Security Council that the U.S. was fostering invasion of Guatemala via Honduras and Nicaragua. In the OAS, Guatemala's efforts to get arms from Czechoslovakia (when it could not purchase the means of defense in its own hemisphere or anywhere else in the so-called free world) brought on the Caracas Declaration, a 20th Century Monroe Doctrine aimed at the Soviets instead of czars.

In due time, the invasion of Guatemala was carried out. Guatemala's reform movement was crushed, and in no time at all United Fruit was back in the saddle.

IT WON'T WORK this time, as every free-worlder in his right mind knows. The Soviet Union has promised to repulse with rockets any invader of its new customer, Cuba, and it is not likely that any OAS member, even good neighbor Trujillo, will run that chance.

Instead, the pressures will be stepped up, including petty ones like making Cubana Airlines pay cash in dollars to refuel at U.S. airfields, and transferring Havana's International Baseball League franchise to Jersey City.

But the very interesting development is that the economic pressures are not effective; indeed they may operate in reverse, to Cuba's advantage or at least to U.S. disadvantage.

● The oil embargo, for example, by the Big Three—Esso, Texaco and Shell—was figured to dry up Cuba's fuel supply. The three refineries used to process about 65,000 barrels of crude a day. They calculated that the U.S.S.R. could not supply that much. As it turns out, by July 31 the U.S.S.R. will have supplied Cuba with 1,500,000 barrels of crude (despite buzzing of their tankers by U.S. aircraft) and will thereafter maintain a supply of some 80,000 barrels a day. So, far from being drained of fuel, Cuba will be able to build a reserve—and at lower prices!

● Cuba had delivered most of its sugar quota to the U.S. when President Eisenhower cut off 700,000 tons of the remainder plus an additional 156,000 tons which would have been Cuba's portion of a total required to make up our 1960 sugar deficit. As a result, the U. S. will have to scrape around among all other sugar producers to replace the barred Cuban sugar for 1960, and for 1961 will have an even more difficult time if the Cuban quota is again reduced. In parceling out the sugar orders, it turns out that the Dominican Republic is a big gainer, much to the embarrassment of Hemispheric diplomats who have been trying to make a show of opposition to the Trujillo dictatorship.

Meanwhile, Cuba is busily making deals to sell its barred sugar supply to the U.S.S.R. and China—and under its agrarian reform program diversifying its agriculture so that it need not in the future depend on sugar alone for foreign trade nor on imports for products which it can and will grow and manufacture at home, now that the sugar monopoly is off its neck.

ANYWAY, IT'S A mighty interesting time for a troupe of GUARDIAN readers to be visiting Cuba, the gamecock of the Caribbean. We'll have much to report, in the columns of the paper and in our respective communities, when we return. Meanwhile, saludos amigos!

—THE GUARDIAN

DEFENDANTS GET LABOR SUPPORT

Delay sought in appeal of Denver T-H case against Mine-Mill union

Special to the Guardian

DENVER, COLO.

SUPREME COURT AGREEMENT to review the Taft-Hartley affidavit conviction of Maurice E. Travis, former secy.-treas. of the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, has prompted the union's attorneys to seek postponement of appeal proceedings in the cases of nine past and present Mine-Mill leaders convicted of conspiracy to file false Taft-Hartley affidavits.

The Travis defense filed three petitions for certiorari, all of which were granted by the Supreme Court May 31 for argument next term. One petition dealt with six issues relating to the conduct of Travis' trial for allegedly filing false affidavits in 1951 and 1952. The other two petitions offered evidence that Fred Gardner, a witness who appeared against Travis and also against six Cleveland defendants in another Taft-Hartley proceeding, had lied and given perjured testimony.

Several of the issues accepted for review in the Travis case are similar to those raised in the conspiracy case appeal. A favorable decision on any one would almost certainly result in the conspiracy convictions being set aside.

Telford Taylor, chief U.S. prosecutor at the Nuremburg war crimes trials, and Nathan Witt, Mine-Mill general counsel, are directing the defense of the nine.

AFL-CIO SUPPORT: The appeal of the nine Mine-Mill defendants, three of whom never signed the affidavits which were the subject of the alleged conspiracy,

has growing support from other parts of labor, including two vice-presidents of the national AFL-CIO and two other members of the national AFL-CIO Executive Council. Among the leaders protesting the convictions and offering support in the appeal are A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Michael J. Quill, Transport Workers Union; O. A. Knight, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers; John P. Burke, Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers; and Thomas J. Lloyd and Patrick E Gorman, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

O. A. Knight's letter of support noted that three years elapsed between the indictments and the beginning of the trials of the nine, and that the trials were begun "in the midst of a long strike by your union against the Big Five copper companies."

THE DEAD PAST: Burke's letter recalled the use of conspiracy charges against workers forming the first unions in England more than a hundred years ago. Quill wrote that the charges were "a miscellaneous hodge-podge" and that the charge of conspiracy against unionists should be "relegated to the dust heap of history, where it belongs." Lloyd and Gorman said such charges "belong to a putrid, dead past." A. Philip Randolph expressed the hope that the convictions might be reversed because since the trials the requirement for non-communist affidavits had been dropped from the labor law.

Other statements of support have come from the Colorado Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen and from locals, joint boards or councils of such international unions as Auto, Painters & Paperhangers, Sheet Metal Workers, Carpenters, Longshoremen & Warehousemen, Fur Dressers & Dyers, Machinists, Printers, Hod Carriers, Communications Workers and Telegraphers throughout the country.

The headquarters of the Mine-Mill union, to which communications and contributions may be sent, are at 941 E. 17th Ave., Denver.

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Special to the Guardian

DENVER, COLO.

THE SIX DENVER Smith Act defendants, convicted a year ago in their second trial for alleged conspiracy to teach and advocate forcible overthrow of the government, have filed an appeal charging that the Justice Dept. knowingly permitted one of its principal witnesses, Bellarmino Duran, to testify falsely during the trial. The defendants have also moved for a new trial, on the same grounds as the appeal.

Duran testified that the FBI paid him primarily expense money for his services as a government witness. Later, at a hearing of the Subversive Activities Control Board, Attorney General Rogers produced records showing that Duran was paid $8,845 for his services plus some $800 expenses in the period 1948-56. Duran had testified also that his services stopped in 1954.

The appellants contended in their appeal that Duran's perjuries deprived the jury of an opportunity to estimate his truthfulness and reliability. The six were first convicted in 1955 but the convictions were set aside and a new trial ordered following the Supreme Court decisions of 1957-58 invalidating similar Smith Act proceedings.

Contributions for the appeal may be sent to Anna Correa Bary, 2416 W. 36th Ave., Denver, Colo.

Groups in North and South protest Reddick dismissal

DISMISSAL OF Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, history department head, from Alabama State College on the order of Gov. John Patterson has resulted in a stream of protests to the offices of the Governor and the State Supt. of Education, Frank Stewart. Patterson charged that Reddick had "Communist associations," but most saw the Governor's move as retaliation for the militant demonstrations against segregation by the students at Alabama State in March.

Although Reddick was the only one fired, 11 faculty members were threatened and Patterson recommended that President H. Councill Trenholm, who has headed the school for 35 years, resign. Trenholm has been ordered to take the personal file of every faculty member to the July meeting of the Board of Education.

Protests against Reddick's dismissal came from such groups as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, NAACP, Montgomery Improvement Assn., Univ. of Chicago's Dept. of History, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, American Assn. of University Professors and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Civil rights front

(Continued from Page 1)

are sending relief packages to John McFerren, president of the Fayette and Haywood Counties Civic League. And FBI agents are again investigating in the area.

THE SCHOOL STORY: Progress continues "with all deliberate speed" in school desegregation. Three new law suits were filed in Federal courts in June seeking integration in public schools in Volusia County, Fla., Caswell County, N.C., and Birmingham, Ala.

In Birmingham the suit asked for a Federal injunction to end segregation in local schools and at parks and playgrounds. Under the state's school placement law, Negroes have applied for admission to white schools in vain.

In Palm Beach County, Fla., William Holland Sr. began the third year of his case against the school board. The board was ordered two years ago to proceed with a plan for desegregation and has denied Holland's contention that the Palm Beach County school system is segregated.

In Louisiana, where a Federal court ordered desegregation in the first grade in Orleans Parish to start in September, Gov. Jimmy Davis has announced that New Orleans schools will remain segregated.

In Little Rock, Ark., State Supreme Court Justice Jim Johnson announced a campaign for passage of a state constitutional amendment to permit the closing of public schools faced with integration. Two white men attempted to blow up one of the buildings of Philander Smith College, a Negro school, but were caught in the act. Arrests of the two were the first under the anti-bombing provision of the 1960 Civil Rights Act.

THE LIBRARY STORY: In Virginia two cities, Petersburg and Danville, locked their library doors to prevent integrated reading. In March, after 11 Negroes had been arrested for sitting-in at the public library, 13 petitioned the U.S. District Court in Richmond for an injunction barring segregated library operations in Petersburg. On July 6, while the case was pending, three Virginia State College students attempted to use reference facilities reserved for whites, instead of going to the Negro section in the basement. City Manager Roy Ash promptly closed the library for an indefinite period.

COPS GUARD AGAINST INTEGRATED READING IN MEMPHIS
This crowd gathered after 41 Negroes were arrested in jimcrow libraries

The library was given to the city in 1923 by Mrs. William R. McKenney as a memorial for her husband. The deed stated that the basement was to be reserved for Negroes and if at any time segregated facilities were not maintained the property should revert to her heirs. Mrs. McKenney's daughter, Mrs. Virginia Claiborne, the only heir, has told city officials that her mother was trying to be sure Negroes were included in the library privileges and that she felt she would favor desegregation if she were alive.

'LAST CAPITOL': After closing the Danville libraries because of a Federal order to integrate, city officials held a referendum. The vote was 2,829 to 1,598 to keep the libraries—a main building and a Negro branch—closed. The main building was known as "the last capitol of the Confederacy" because Jeff Davis used it for his last cabinet meeting.

In Memphis, Tenn., a Federal judge refused to grant a summary judgment that would have opened public library facilities to Negroes. The suit, calling for immediate desegregation of library facilities, was filed in 1958. Now police stand guard at library doors—a barrier to would-be sit-ins.

Sit-in activity and picketing for desegregation has shown no let-up during the summer months. In Rockville, Md., 25 sit-in demonstrators were arrested July 10 when they asked to be served at a Hi-Boy Restaurant. At near-by Glen Echo amusement park there have been 16 arrests since picketing began just before the Fourth of July.

Mayor Alexander Greene of Rockville condemned the restaurant discrimination and the Montgomery County Council has set up an interracial commission to deal with the causes of the demonstration and anti-segregation petitions. Owners of the amusement park, Abram and Samuel Baker, came from Florida when the picketing began but made no comment lest they compromise the "trespass" trials to be held later this month.

SUPPORT GROWS: In Montgomery, Ala., in May, the Rev. R. Edwin King, a white theological student, and Elroy Embry spent three days in jail before being tried for attempting to dine together at the Jefferson Davis Hotel. They were sentenced to ten days and fined $200 each, but the sentence was appealed. On July 13 a circuit court judge sentenced them this time to three months hard labor and fined their attorneys $100 each. The men were released under $1,000 bond pending further appeal.

Support for the sit-ins continue in various ways. At the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles, the National Committee of the Democratic Clubs of America adopted a resolution that said in part that Negroes have had to turn to sit-in demonstrations because "of the threat of inevitable violence by those who fight for the status quo."

A new fund called The American Student Conscience Fund has been established to aid those students expelled from Southern colleges for taking part in sit-in demonstrations. The fund is administered by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students. Contributions have come from college students all over the country.

New Haven garden party to aid Uphaus defense

A GARDEN PARTY to help defray the costs of Dr. Willard Uphaus' defense will be held Sunday, July 24, from 2 to 6 p.m. at the home of Mrs. David A. Goldberg, 400 Fountain St., New Haven, Conn.

Rev. Lee Ball, exec. dir. of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action, will speak and answer questions. There will be an art auction and folk singing.

Kennedy picks Lyndon Johnson

(Continued from Page 1)

to Kennedy. In the end, Gov. Freeman nominated Kennedy, Sen. Eugene McCarthy nominated Stevenson, and Sen. Humphrey supported Stevenson.

Operating unofficially, the AFL-CIO political action unit, COPE, worked hard for Kennedy. They used promises of campaign contributions and other inducements to line up delegates. One regional COPE director sympathetic to Stevenson was told by her AFL-CIO boss to line up support for Kennedy or give up her job.

Most AFL-CIO top officials were at the convention and most were in the Kennedy camp. Steel worker president David J. McDonald was especially active for Kennedy, using his post as delegate from Pennsylvania to help suppress Stevenson support in that major state. UAW president Walter Reuther played it cozy, never making a public endorsement while privately doing all he could on behalf of Kennedy. AFL-CIO Electrical Workers Union president James B. Carey endorsed Sen. Symington but hedged his bet by saying nice things about Kennedy while remaining inactive for Symington.

SOME FOR JOHNSON: Sen. Johnson managed some labor support from the Postal Workers Union because of his backing of their pay raise bill in Congress. Also the building trades unions of Texas gave Johnson active support, while the representatives of the United Mine Workers Union kept their anti-Kennedy sympathy for Johnson on a private and unofficial basis. The Teamsters Union, under the leadership of its Political Education Director Sid Zagri, supported Johnson as a part of their drive to stop Kennedy. With 43 Teamsters as delegates or alternate delegates to the convention, the Hoffa union was the center for labor's efforts to defeat Kennedy.

There were no leading trade union figures in the Draft Stevenson movement.

One of Sen. Kennedy's greatest assets was the lack of clear and effective opposition. Actually, Johnson was never a serious candidate for the nomination but was the vehicle of the efforts to stop Kennedy. Sen. Johnson was completely unacceptable to the Negro organizations, and maintaining his unqualified support for the Taft-Hartley Law he was an impossible Presidential nominee for organized labor. Sen. Stuart Symington never challenged Kennedy, but campaigned on the basis of "give it to me if nobody else gets it."

A SET UP: The only real challenge to Kennedy lay in the Stevenson candidacy. But this candidacy was never clearly announced and the Stevenson campaign was left on an amateur, spontaneous, rank-and-file basis without leadership. The response was amazing, representing deep and widespread progressive sentiments among the people but organization necessary to challenge the Kennedy machine was lacking.

Without question the convention was set up for Kennedy. Every effort was made to keep Stevenson people out of the galleries, with the result that thousands of Stevenson backers had to march around outside the Sports Arena while thousands of seats inside the convention remained empty. Gallery tickets were carefully channeled to Kennedy backers. The California Democratic Clubs with 45,000 members received only 300 tickets.

Unlimited money and minute organization characterized the Kennedy operation. One delegate from Hawaii with half a vote was met at the airport by three Kennedy agents and driven to his hotel in a limousine. In his hotel room there were flowers and a gift for his wife, all supplied by Kennedy. This type of treatment was given every delegate.

'DOUBLE CROSS': When Johnson was named Vice Presidential candidate, the Los Angeles **Times** quoted a labor delegate: "It didn't take long for Jack Kennedy to pull a fast one against organized labor." Liberals who had supported Kennedy were jolted by the Johnson designation. UAW attorney and Americans for Democratic Action leader Joseph Rauh called the step a "double cross" by Kennedy. Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan and UAW president Walter Reuther made a last minute visit to Kennedy to stop the appointment. One prominent Stevenson supporter, disgruntled at the support liberals and labor forces had given Kennedy, evidently without any commitments in return, told Gov. Williams "you liberals have it coming to you."

Herblock, Washington Post

"And now the news from Moscow, Cuba, Africa, Asia, Newport . . ."

The Southern delegations were elated at the Johnson nomination and made it clear this would assuage their resentment at the strong civil rights plank in the Democratic platform. Although Negro leader Adam Clayton Powell gave the Johnson nomination a backhanded okay, the general reaction among the Negroes at the convention was "here we go again."

There was speculation as to why Sen. Johnson would agree to leave his powerful berth as Senate Majority leader for the second spot. One explanation is that powerful Southern Democratic forces pushed Johnson to accept in order to keep the South in the saddle on the national ticket. Some believe that Johnson, who is known to have a large ego and power-drive, expects he can be both Vice President and Senate boss at the same time.

REVOLT CRUSHED: Once the decision was made for Johnson, the incipient revolt in the Minnesota, Michigan, and California delegations was crushed by the convention chairman Gov. LeRoy Collins of Florida. There was general agreement that the addition of Johnson eliminated the danger of loss of any Southern states in the election, eased the Catholic issue, and even though aggravating some Northern support, probably changed the odds in favor of a Democratic victory. But for the liberals there was great concern that this first step by Kennedy was a harbinger of the essentially conservative and rightist character of the Democratic candidate.

There were various indications that the Catholic issue will be important in the 1960 election. Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt in a hard-hitting statement on the eve of the convention, said that Kennedy could not win and suggested that the Catholic issue would be a heavy burden to bear. Before the nominations on Wednesday, July 13, Sen. Johnson obliquely approached the issue by saying that the West Virginia primary proved that Protestants would vote for a Catholic, and that the real question now was whether Catholics would vote for a Protestant.

It is known that a considerable amount of anti-Catholic pressure has been registered with Johnson. In the early days of the convention, Johnson supporters were circulating a map showing the vote for President in the Al Smith election of 1928, suggesting the weight of the anti-Catholic vote. On the other hand, it was significant that Sen. Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, who says he is "twice as Catholic" as Kennedy, made the brilliant nominating speech for Adlai Stevenson.

A SAD DAY FOR ADLAI
He watches Kennedy take over

STRONG PLATFORM: On domestic matters the Democratic platform is the most liberal ever adopted by the Party. The key and controversial civil rights section with its approval of the Supreme Court school desegregation decision, its support for the sit-down demonstrations, and its call for more effective civil rights legislation is an almost unqualified repudiation of the Dixiecrat position. It was opposed in a minority report by the Platform Committee representatives from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

The platform promises the Forand Bill to provide medical care for the aged, a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour, public housing, aid to depressed areas, aid to education, an economic policy for growth, full employment, and an end to tight money. The platform called for "full support for collective bargaining and the repeal of the anti-labor excesses which have been written into our labor laws." On civil liberties, it said "we reaffirm our dedication to the Bill of Rights. Freedom and civil liberties, far from being incompatible with security, are vital to our national strength . . . The Democratic Party will strive to improve Congressional investigating and hearing procedures." It called for protection of the "right to travel" regardless of race or religion, but did not mention discrimination for political beliefs.

The Democratic Party restated its unqualified devotion to the cold war and laid the basis for more military spending, consistent with the demands of Sen. Kennedy for a $3 billion rise in the arms budget.

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MARCHERS COLLECT GRIEVANCES ON BASES

Japan prepares for biggest peace conference to mark Hiroshima Day

FROM August 2 to 9 Tokyo will be host to the Sixth World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs and For Total Disarmament. The conference will convene and end on the 15th anniversaries of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, respectively.

In 1958 the Japan Council Against A- and H-Bombs held its first long peace march prior to a conference. The march started from Hiroshima on June 20 and ended in Tokyo on August 15. Its success encouraged the Council to organize another march the following year, which started early in June from Tokyo, Nigata (north of Tokyo) and Yoron Island in the extreme south, and ended in Hiroshima on August 5, in which 10,000,000 participated.

This year an even larger number of people are already involved in the march which started from Yoron Island on April 20 and from Hokkaido in the extreme north on May 1. The third march is passing through the more important of the 182 large and small U.S. military bases and facilities in Japan and of the 485 Japanese Self-Defense Forces bases, camps and warehouses scattered throughout the country.

LIST OF GRIEVANCES: The marchers are gathering information and complaints about the damage, inconvenience and abuse suffered by those living in and around the bases; the documentation will be presented to the conference when the marchers arrive in Tokyo on Aug. 5.

This year's agenda is divided into two sections: (1) "What is required of peace movements in order to create an atmosphere favorable to and promote the achievement of prohibition of nuclear weapons, total disarmament and peaceful coexistence, and to prevent the further growth of militarism centering around military alliances and nuclear armament?"; (2) "What is the effect of military policies, above all the policy of nuclear arms, upon the living standards of the people, and what will be the effect of prohibition of nuclear weapons, total disarmament and peaceful coexistence upon the people's life?"

AMERICANS TO ATTEND: By July 1, individuals and groups from 24 countries had announced their intention to attend the conference. They included both socialist and non-socialist countries, both East and West Germany. Americans who were planning to attend included Rev. Stephen Fritchman of the First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, Calif.; anthropologist Earle Reynolds of Hawaii who, with his wife and two children, was prevented by the U.S. government from piloting the yacht **Phoenix** into the nuclear weapons test area in the Pacific in 1958; and Jack Hall and Mr. and Mrs. Karl Yoneda of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in Hawaii.

The Japan Council said that "the Japanese people, who showed considerable energy in the struggle against the ratification of the new U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, certainly understand the World Conference as the first great step toward world peace since the Summit breakdown and will cooperate for its success."

London Evening Standard

"Remember those simple days during the war when you used to say 'It's one of ours' and feel relieved?"

Haven't changed much, have we?

GOD HAS NOT BEEN PREPARING the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for 1,000 years for nothing but vain and idle contemplation and self-glorification. No! He has made up the master-organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns . . . He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples . . . He has marked the American people as His chosen nation to finally lead in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America . . . The Philippines are ours forever. We will not repudiate our duty in the Archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustees, under God, of the civilization of the world.

—Senator Albert J. Beveridge, during the debate in the Senate over freeing the Philippines, Jan. 9, 1900.

•

ONLY ANGLO-SAXONS can govern themselves. The Cubans will need a despotic government for many years to restrain anarchy until Cuba is filled with Yankees. It is the Anglo-Saxon's manifest destiny to go forth as a world-conqueror.

—William Allen White in the Emporia **Gazette**, March 20, 1899.

March on UN August 6 to mark Hiroshima Day

PEACE AND LABOR organizations will march to the United Nations in New York City on Saturday, Aug. 6, to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Hiroshima atom bombing.

The New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy said the purpose of the demonstration is to insure that there will be no more Hiroshimas. The participating groups will call for the continuation of three-power talks in Geneva to achieve a ban on nuclear bomb tests and a voluntary interim moratorium on testing.

Participants in the march will include individuals from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee, the Society for Ethical Culture, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, the Council of Protestant Churches, the Americans for Democratic Action, and scores of civic, religious and labor groups.

Marchers from different areas of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and other sections will converge in Bryant Park in Manhattan at 3:15 p.m. They will then parade to the United Nations where a rally will begin at 4 p.m.

Nagasaki A-bomb claims 21 new victims this year

TWENTY-ONE PERSONS died between Jan 1 and June 30 this year of illnesses attributed to the atom bombing of Nagasaki in 1945. The bomb claimed 18 victims during the same six-month period last year and 12 the year before.

The Congo story

(Continued from Page 1)

retary Ralph Bunche, who was in the Congo, and to the UN itself against "Belgian aggression." On July 14 the UN Security Council voted 8-0 in favor of a Tunisian resolution (1) calling on Belgium to withdraw its troops from the Congo and (2) authorizing UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold to "send such military assistance as may be necessary . . . to meet fully their tasks." Hammarskjold immediately asked for troop contributions from independent African states. Britain, France and the representative of Chiang Kai-shek abstained from voting because of the rebuke implied in the UN resolution.

Even after UN forces arrived, Belgium refused to withdraw its troops. There were rumors that they planned to attack the capital, Leopoldville. Lumumba transferred his administration to Stanleyville, asked the UN on July 17 to clear all Belgian troops from the Congo within 72 hours. African members of the UN supported the demand. Moscow pledged support for the Congo's independence and integrity, and called for another UN Security Council session on July 19.

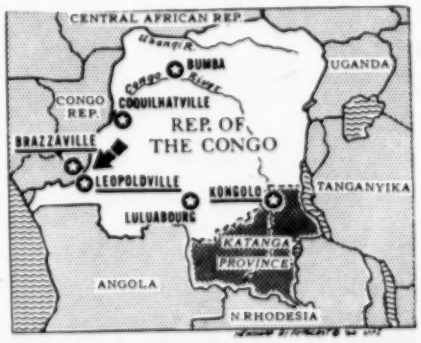
BELGIUM'S STAKE: The roots of the inter-tribal strife, the rebellion of the Congolese troops and the secession movement in the Congo's Katanga Province lay in Belgium's economic stake in the Congo and the manner in which it maintained this stake and apparently planned to preserve it even after granting freedom to the Congo.

Little Belgium's capital stake in and inflow of wealth from the Congo has been spectacularly large. It has been large enough to explain, as economist Vella Pillay wrote in **Africa South** (January-March, 1960), the mystery of "how Belgium, alone of all the European countries, was able to emerge from the last war with a stable currency, with a volume of foreign exchange reserves as large as that held in 1938, and [without] the inflationary stresses that otherwise would have followed the reconstruction of the war-damaged Belgian economy."

TIGHT CONTROL: The Congo's economy has been controlled by the financial empire known as Societe Generale de Belgique, "which has been virtually a government itself" (**Business Week**, June 25). It controlled 90% of Congo business. Until 1955, its subsidiary Banque du Congo Belge even issued the Congo's currency.

Mining subsidiaries of the Societe included Forminiere with its diamonds and Union Miniere du Haut Katanga with its copper, cobalt (75% of world production), tin, zinc, coal, radium and uranium. The Societe also owned forests, textile mills, city apartment buildings and factories of every kind as well as shipping lines.

The British company, Tanganyika Concessions (known as Tanks) owned 14% of Union Miniere. In 1950 the Rockefellers acquired 600,000 shares of Union Miniere when the Bank of England sold a portion of its Tanks holdings. According to the London **Observer** (July 10),



the Rockefeller holding in Union Miniere was recently exchanged for shares in a Congo finance company, "thus transforming it in effect into a portfolio investment in Union Miniere."

'MAGNIFICENT': The **Observer** said: "For the Rockefellers . . . this may yet be a brilliant speculation. The ore is magnificent, and so is the organization; the only doubt is political."

The American Reynolds Metals and some other companies have investments in the Congo's minerals and rubber. Britain's Unilever, through Belgian and Congo subsidiaries, has holdings in the country's palm oil concerns. But Belgian capital still dominated the Congo as it became free.

Over the years the Congo has been a huge dollar and other foreign exchange earner for Belgium, through the Societe in general and Union Miniere in particular. Union Miniere has been drawing about $200,000,000 a year in profits out of the Congo. Control of this gigantic source of wealth has made the Societe a power also in Belgium itself, where it has acquired ownership of refineries that smelt the Congo ores, a huge block in Cockerill-Ougree (the largest steel works), and big shareholdings in coal mines, the two biggest insurance companies and a vast amount of land.

HOLDING ON: Noting this, the **Observer** said: "In the Katanga, and in the Congo as a whole, the Belgians mean to stay boss. They are tackling the problem as they behaved when they were masters—with subtlety, toughness, and a determination to hang on to their own."

The Belgians ruled the 14,000,000 Congolese by pitting tribe against tribe, denying them education, throwing morsels from their sumptuous table to a few subservient Congolese to buy their allegiance, building an army of 25,000 Congolese but under 1,000 Belgian officers who maintained iron discipline. When the violent uprisings of January, 1959, jolted them into pledging freedom to Congo, they apparently made plans that would either enable them to maintain indirect but effective control or even provide an excuse for returning in force "to maintain law and order."

HOPE FOR CHAOS: From the time that June 30, 1960, was set as the date for independence, press reports emanating from the Congo predicted inter-tribal strife, economic and political chaos and violent attacks on whites in the wake of freedom. The whites threatened to detach Katanga Province with its vast mineral resources—without which the rest of the Congo would wither—and merge it with copper-rich Northern Rhodesia. On the very day of independence last month, the New York **World Telegram** columnist and professional African-baiter Robert Ruark wrote:

"The greatest hope of moneyed interests was that independence would bring such chaos that a new kind of 'economic colonialism' might be imposed [on the Congo], with the white man continuing to run things, but under a black figurehead whose material wants might be easily appeased in wine, women and flashy cars, plus a Swiss bank account."

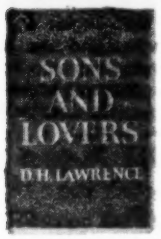
Dyad, London Daily Worker

"Gad, sir. We're forced to act—Johannesburg shares are still falling."

The Belgian government, in short, seemed to have tried to prepare grounds for intervention after it was forced to agree to the Congo's freedom. On May 13, Congolese leader Albert Kalonji told **Times** correspondent Homer Bigart that white elements were fomenting tribal fighting and added: "Some Belgians are trying to create panic by all means. They are predicting the worst catastrophes." The **Times** reported (July 12) that Tshombe's action "was not wholly unexpected" because rumblings of Katanga's secession were audible "even before the new republic had gained its independence."

Turbulence over the Congo's freedom was bound to be great because of its vast wealth enriching Belgium and also because its independence brought the African freedom struggle next door to the worst white-supremacist terroritories in Africa: the Rhodesias and the Union of South Africa.

VIKING



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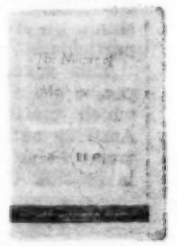

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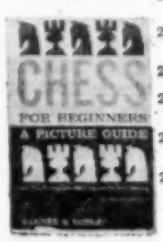

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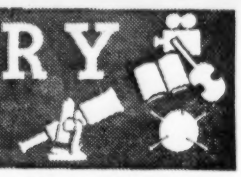

OF U.S. POLITICAL CONVENTIONS the London **Daily Mail** laments that "America will not willingly relinquish one prancing drum-majorette, one toot of a trombone, in this ritualistic orgy. She will demand the fish-fries and fireworks, the banners and bassoons, the keynote speeches, the cheer-leader cheers . . .and the smoke-filled rooms. The lot. She will hide from a harsh century in a rose-colored cocoon, yearning for a day that is dead . . ." Despite Britain's dim view, Barney Jones, in charge of demonstrations for the Republicans in Chicago this week, says Nixon's nomination will be followed by five bands playing, 75 drum-majorettes marching, a marching corps on stilts and a troupe of acrobats leaping on a trampoline. The lot . . . Comedian Mort Sahl takes comfort in the prospect that "If you are a Republican and plan to vote, you have a choice of Richard Nixon." Of his fallen idol Adlai, Sahl imagines a young Stevenson daughter (if there were one) being greeted by her pa with something like "How was school today, daughter?" and she answers, "Never mind about school. When are you going to get a job?" Of Kennedy, "his father says to him: 'Jack, what do you want as a career?' Jack answers: 'I want to be President.' 'I know about that,' says his father, 'but I mean when you grow up!'" And of Lyndon Johnson, "why should he settle for the Presidency?" . . . Though Lyndon settled for less, astrologers are forecasting that the Vice-President will be President before 1962 . . . Nixon's running mate had not been selected at GUARDIAN press time. It probably won't turn out to be Nelson Rockefeller, though. Of the San Francisco **Examiner's** comment that Nelson is "the Rockefeller Party's nominee," Robert Clogher, editor of the Holy City (Calif.) **Apocalypse** (which lists as its publisher: God) has offered himself (C., that is, not G.) as running mate if Rocky will change the name of his party to Apocalyptic.

OTHER INCIPIENT independent candidates are sprouting on lower levels: With the Farrell Dobbs-Myra Tanner Weiss Presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party, Carl Feingold is standing for U.S. Senator in Minnesota against Hubert Humphrey. He holds degrees in chemistry and physics and, at 32, has been a member of four unions . . . In New York's beatnik-beset 19th Congressional District (East Village and lower East Side), union school teacher Hal Koppersmith is fixing to run for Congress as the New Deal Pioneer candidate, with good wishes from Rockwell Kent, Rowland Watts, J. Raymond Walsh and others. Koppersmith, who must get 3,000 valid nominating signatures between Aug. 8 and Sept. 16, has headquarters at his East Side pad, 141 E. Third St., and wants to run because he is "tired of bungling elephants and talking asses" and wants to abolish "the Un-American Activities Committee which Hoovers over us."

ON THE RELIGIOUS ISSUE, Protestant and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State (Glenn L. Archer, dir., 1633 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.) has published Vol. 1 No. 1 of **Church-State News.** Page one shows Secy. of Labor Mitchell kissing the ring of Bishop John J. Wright in St. Paul's Cathedral, Pittsburgh, with Gov. Lawrence looking on. Also says that all Buffalo's municipal candidates this year are Catholic and warns that Protestants are barred from the Presidency in countries where Catholic Action has succeeded in placing such restrictions in concordats or other agreements with the Vatican. Examples: Argentina, Paraguay, Spain . . . And General Herbert Holdridge fears that if Kennedy is elected "no non-Roman Catholic will ever again be elected President."

WEST COASTERS and others may be interested to know that the Peking Opera Company is invading Vancouver, B.C., for the annual cultural festival beginning Aug. 2. On a clear night with the winds of chance favorable, they might even be overheard in Washington (State, that is.).

—John T. McManus

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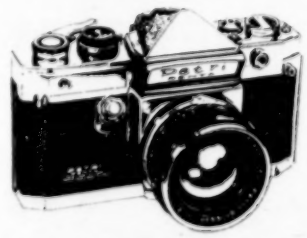

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the SPECTATOR

The mechanical men

MARTHA'S VINEYARD, MASS.

THE FOG ROLLED IN FAST on this lovely island off the coast of Senator Kennedy's home state on the night of July 13. The sense of physical isolation was all but complete. Then the TV cameras from Los Angeles broke through the fog with the bright lights of the Democratic convention hall and the sunshine of California. Yet when the proceedings were over, and a highly excited John Kennedy stumbled through the Star Spangled Banner at 3 a.m. on July 14, the isolation was complete. But this time it was spiritual.

Not that it was a surprise: At the NATIONAL GUARDIAN'S annual dinnner in New York last November, Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast International Longshoremen's Union, said: "The fix is in for John Kennedy," and we never had reason to doubt the soundness of Bridges' prediction. But the final act of confirmation, as presented on the TV screen, was witness not only to Bridges' political sagacity, but to the fact that the mechanical man has taken over both American politics and the American communications industry.

GIVE AN OSCAR TO THE CAMERAMEN and send the commentators back to the Madison Avenue swamps. When the cameras focused on Eleanor Roosevelt and Herbert Lehman pleading with the delegates to let their mechanisms unwind and to vote their conscience, they caught the rare great moments of the convention. The issue was no longer Stevenson vs. Kennedy: the issue was America and the American dream. When Senator Eugene McCarthy spoke from the heart about democracy and all but begged for a second ballot, the galleries came to life, but the mark of death was on the floor.

The camera pinpointed the contrast within one famous family. There was Rep. James Roosevelt, smiling and alert, the one man in the Congress who declared war on the witch-hunt, sitting with his magnificent mother. There was Franklin Roosevelt Jr., pitchman for dictator Trujillo, bushwhacker for John Kennedy, sitting bemused with sunken face behind James A. Farley. He even had to take a cue from Farley to stir himself to mechanical applause for his mother's moving statement.

And there was Governor Ribicoff of Connecticut, Jack Kennedy's whip, grinning into the camera to say that the Stevenson nomination speech and the seconds wouldn't make one whit of difference. He knew the fix was in; he was in on the fixing.

WE WATCHED THE SHOW ON CBS. When the Stevenson excitement abated and a cracker judge from Mississippi droned on with the nomination of a cracker governor for President, we waited for some comment on the moving demonstration just past. But there was none. Wit and wisdom have fled the reporting business. Political philosophy is a dead letter, imagination an unknown word.

Edward R. Murrow and Walter Cronkite presided over the scene like two British vaudeville comedians underplaying their act. From time to time they switched to an Alexander Kendrick trying to embarrass Miss Miami Beach into a discussion of the farm problem; to Lowell Thomas frothing at the mouth over the acoustics and the minor role he was given; to Richard C. Hottelet screaming inanities at various delegates; to Howard K. Smith reading boring bits of parliamentary procedure off a teleprompter. The air was full of rumor and report, tally and tidbit. Of information there was little; of guidance there was none.

In the living room, as we watched, hanging on every word were three young people: a 19-year-old college student; a boy just turned 16 that midnight, and his 14-year-old sister. The latter two had worked in the Stevenson campaign in New York, and they refused to yield until the Kennedy total went over the top. When that happened the college student remained grimly silent. The boy threw a magazine across the room. His sister said in a bewildered voice: "How are we going to live with it?"

GROPING THROUGH THE FOG down the hill at three in the morning, the car's headlights barely making out the edge of the dirt road, no one spoke. We were all thinking about the last scenes: Jack Kennedy, his mechanical key wound tight, taking the applause as his mechanical mind fought to encompass what God and man had wrought; and Mrs. Roosevelt wiping the tears from her eyes, as a friend stood sympathetically by to help.

One could not help speculating what might have happened if there had been a leadership to the Stevenson movement, if Stevenson had been a convinced leader willing and able to fight it out. For here is still the key to the hope of mankind: Leadership is desperately needed to weld the willing millions into a positive political force; a leadership with heart and mind and soul to replace the mechanical man and his string-pullers.

For all the dismal display of the fixed convention, we do not doubt the leadership will be forthcoming. Because the young people we sat with through their political baptism hated what they saw and they will not long tolerate what they have been saddled with. And there are millions like them. Look around you if you doubt this—both in our country and all over the world.

—James Aronson

Any takers?

DENVER, COLO.

We have a back file of GUARDIANS (Vol. 1 onward) very nearly complete—which we would be happy to give to some interested organization or person.

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